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CAPTAIN RICHARD DERBY.

1712-1783.

From a portrait copied by J. Aden Weir after the original painting
by Col. Henry Sargent.

THE
DERBYS OF SALEM
MASSACHUSETTS

A STUDY OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
COMMERCE CARRIED ON BY A
FAMILY OF TYPICAL
NEW ENGLAND MERCHANTS

By ROBERT E. PEABODY

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THE DERBYS OF SALEM, MASS.

A STUDY OF 18TH CENTURY COMMERCE CARRIED ON BY
A FAMILY OF TYPICAL NEW ENGLAND MERCHANTS.

BY ROBERT E. PEABODY.

In these days when the steamship, the railroad, the telegraph, and the ocean cable bind the whole world so closely together, it is hard to realize the difficulties and dangers which beset American merchants who carried on trade and commerce a hundred and fifty years ago. Not only did the restrictions of the English Navigation Acts hamper their trade, but the seas then swarmed with privateers and pirates which cruised about ready to pounce upon any unsuspecting merchant vessel. It was almost impossible for a colonial merchant to send a ship on a voyage without running the risk of capture either by an English man-of-war or privateer, for violation of the Acts, or by a Captain Kidd, Blackbeard, or some other freebooter. To these dangers were added, during the French and English wars, the chance of capture by Frenchmen, for as English subjects the American colonists were lawful enemies to France. Yet in spite of these obstacles colonial commerce rapidly increased and in New England for nearly two centuries after the landing of the Pilgrims, trade and ship owning and the allied industries of shipbuilding and fishing were the chief occupations of the population. With

NOTE. Where references are not given in the following pages, the facts are taken from the original Derby Manuscripts in the Essex Institute, or from the Memoir of Elias Hasket Derby in Hunt's Merchants Magazine, Vol. 36.

the soil too poor for extensive and profitable cultivation, and a coastline indented with deep harbors, it was natural that the inhabitants should turn to the sea for a livelihood. The miles of pathless forest which grew down to the water's edge formed a boundary to inland progress and also supplied timber for building ships. The waters along the shores abounded with cod, haddock and other edible fish and within a few years after the first settlements were made, the New Englanders were loading their vessels with fish which they carried to Spain and Portugal where the numerous Catholic fast days made a great demand for this commodity. The West Indies also furnished a large market for New England fish and lumber, which were exchanged for sugar, molasses, etc. In fact, with such industry did the New England merchants extend their trade and with such rapidity did their ships increase in numbers that before long they were doing practically all the coast-wise as well as foreign trade for all the colonies.

It was with a jealous eye that England noted this rapid commercial growth and her numerous Navigation Acts of the seventeenth century were attempts to check it. Although they excluded all foreign craft from the trade between the colonies and the mother country, they also prohibited colonial vessels from trading anywhere except with England or with an English colony. As Spain, Portugal, the Western Islands, and the French and Spanish West Indies were the most natural trading places for the New England merchants, it might be supposed that the Acts were great hinderances to their trade. But it was difficult to enforce the Acts and the profits of the trade were great, so that the commerce of New England continued to increase rapidly.

In no American port was this commercial enterprise developed to a greater extent than in Salem. Though today not a single ocean-going vessel hails from this place, between one hundred and one hundred and fifty years ago it was one of the leading American ports and in the time of its greatest prosperity, during the period between the Revolution and the War of 1812, Salem was well known in many parts of the East Indies and the South Seas where no one had ever heard of New York or Boston.

Of all the Salem merchants who helped to give their town this commercial supremacy none were more active than those of the Derby family. Roger Derby, who was the progenitor of the family in America, came to this country in 1671 and soon after settled at Salem where he embarked in maritime trade, and this occupation was continued by his descendants until the early part of the nineteenth century. In order to observe how these early merchants carried on their business and how their commerce was affected by the British Navigation Acts, the Sugar Act, the Acts of Trade, and by the Revolution itself, we can do no better than to trace the career of Richard Derby and his sons who, as typical New England merchants, carried on business during those troublous times.

Richard Derby, the grandson of Roger, was born in Salem in 1712. His father had been a sailor and merchant, but died while Richard was an infant and the boy was reared by an energetic mother. Practically nothing is known of his childhood, but early in 1736, at the age of twenty-four, he appears as master of the "slope Ranger on a voige to Cadiz," Malaga, etc. with a cargo composed principally of fish. With a mate and four men as crew, young Derby made a successful voyage and, exchanging his fish for oil, fruit and handkerchiefs, arrived safely in Salem in the latter part of May. In September he sailed again to Spain in the "Ranger" on a similar trip, and in the winter of 1739 he went as master of the "skoner Ranger" to the French West India island of St. Martins, where in April he sold his cargo for £2178. 4. 0.

All these voyages of course were in violation of the Navigation Act of 1695 which prohibited colonial vessels from trading anywhere except to England or her colonies, but the law was easily evaded as may be seen by studying more carefully one of these voyages. On Dec. 6, 1741, Captain Derby sailed to the West Indies as master and part owner of the schooner "Volant," and the following extract from his sailing orders shows how the Acts were regarded by New England merchants.

"If you should go among the French Endeavour to gett Salt at St. Martins but if you should fall so low as

Statia ; & any Frenchman Shou'd make you a good Offer with good Security, or by making your Vessel a Dutch Bottom* or any other means practicable in order to your getting among ye French embrace it among whom if you Should ever Arrive be sure to give strict orders amongst your men not to sell the least Trifle unto them on any Terms least they shou'd make your vessel liable to a Siezure,—also Secure a permit so as for you to Trade there the next Voyage w^{ch} you may Undoubtedly do by your Factor & a little greasing some others ;—also make a proper Protest at any Port you Stop at."

Written on the margin of the sailing orders is the following note :

" Capt Derby if you Trade at Barbadoes buy me a Negroe boy about Siveteen years old which if you do advise Mr Clarke of y^t he may not send one also—

Benj. Gerrish jr."

It is safe to say that Capt. Derby made a successful trip, for on July 5th following he sailed again in the "Volant," "for Barbadoes and elsewhere." The manifest of the Volant's outward cargo on this voyage is still preserved and may be taken as a typical cargo for the West Indies, except that cod, mackerel and other fish are usually more in evidence. Its main items were 54,000 ft. of boards, 34,500 shingles, 3,500 staves, 10 barrells of shad, 16 horses, 78 bags of corn and 20 of rye, and 32 empty hogsheads for water.

It is needless to follow each and every voyage of Captain Derby and it is sufficient to say that he continued in the capacity of master till 1757, when, having laid up a comfortable fortune and become owner or part owner in a number of vessels, he gave up a sea life and established himself as a merchant in Salem. In 1755 he had been granted the upland, beach, and flats at Ober's or Palmer's Head on Winter Island in Salem Harbor, for a wharf and warehouse for 1000 years at one shilling per year.† But

*That is, to procure a Dutch registry and make her for the time being a Dutch vessel and thus not subject to the British Navigation Acts. Custom house officials were easily bribed in those days and it was easy to buy registries to make a vessel English, French, Spanish, or Dutch to suit the case.

†Salem Town Records.

he does not appear to have used this site, for soon after he began the construction of the present Derby Wharf from whence he and his descendants during the next fifty years sent vessels to all parts of the world.

Mr. Derby now began to build up a thriving trade with the Spanish Peninsula, especially with Bilboa on the Bay of Biscay, and was constantly sending his smaller vessels on trading voyages through the West Indies, as well as occasional trips to Virginia and the Carolinas. His Bilboa agents, or "factors" as they were called, were Gardoqui & Company. On the arrival of one of his ships they would see to the disposal of the cargo to the best advantage and arrange with the merchants in the interior of Spain for whatever commodities in which the captain wished to lay out the proceeds of the voyage for the return cargo. Often the captain would take bills of exchange on London in return for part of the outward cargo, as these bills sold at a premium in America and helped to pay for importations from England to America. Gardoqui & Company always kept an account with Mr. Derby, and if ever one of the Derby captains wished any cash they would supply him and draw against the account for so much.

Although Mr. Derby traded but little with England he very early established an account with Messrs. Lane & Frazer of London, always leaving a considerable balance with them which his captains, wherever they might be, could draw upon by means of letters of credit. In this connection may be mentioned the case of one of Mr. Derby's ships at Cadiz, the "Antelope," the outward cargo of which did not realize a sufficient amount for the captain to procure a full return cargo and R. Anderson & Company at Gibraltar, wrote to Salem: "We shall supply him with whatever sum he may be deficient, against his Bills on London where he tells us he has a Credit lodged for that Purpose."

In those days banking was a crude operation and in the lack of better facilities was largely carried on by the merchants. Mr. Derby, for instance, acted as a bank for the people of Salem and kept accounts with a large number of the people in the town. If one man owed another

a certain sum he would give his creditor a note on Mr. Derby and the creditor could then demand the amount either in cash or in dry goods or rum or in any article he wished, since Mr. Derby acted as retailer of imported goods as well as banker. Accordingly there may be found among the Derby papers many such notes as these :

“ Salem February 13 1760. Friend Derby Pleas to let Barer have the sum of six shillings and eight pence in goods and charge the same to account of

Jonathan Deane ”

“ Salem, Novembr 16th 1738

Capt darby. Be plesd to let Mr Robert Smith heve one gallon of Rum and Charge the Same to the account of yours to Sarve

Benj Jones.”

Between 1757 and 1764, Mr. Derby had the brig “ Neptune,” commanded by his eldest son Richard junior, and the ship “ Antelope ” and brig “ Ranger,” trading regularly with Spain and the Western Islands,* and a number of his other vessels made occasional voyages to the Peninsular. Mr. Derby pursued the Spanish trade with much success in spite of its violation of the Navigation Acts and there is no record of his losing a vessel in this trade, for the English found it impossible to enforce the Act on this widely scattered trans-Atlantic commerce. In the West India trade he had the ship “ Lydia ” and a number of smaller vessels including the schooners “ Pembroke,” “ Three Brothers,” “ Three Sisters,” “ Mary,” and “ Charming Kate,” and the sloops “ Betsy,” and “ Sally. These smaller vessels would load with fish, lumber, or grain, and often a few horses, cows, or sheep, and then sail down through the West Indies, disposing of their cargoes little by little wherever they found a market. In the same way they would pick up a return cargo at whatever island they could with advantage, generally bringing back sugar, molasses, cotton, indigo or fruits. Often these little vessels would carry fish to the Carolinas and return with rice and

*A general term for the Azores, Madeiras and Canary Islands.

naval stores, and occasionally in the summer season they went to Newfoundland.

In the West India trade, however, the dangers of the high seas were too great for Mr. Derby to continue this prosperous trade without a loss. On July 27, 1759 his schooner "Three Brothers," 56 tons, Captain Michael Driver, with a crew of four men, sailed from Salem for the French West India Island of St. Eustatia, with a cargo of fish, wine, oil, raisins and lumber. When but one day out of Salem she was chased by a British privateer. Capt. Driver hoisted his English colors but the privateer nevertheless fired nine shots at him and made him heave to. On coming up the privateer proved to be the "King of Prussia," Capt. James Snellock, owned by John Smith of Antigua. The Englishman ordered Driver to come aboard which he did with two of his crew. In the meantime the Englishman sent his lieutenant with several men on board the "Three Brothers," who took away "a quantity of fish and 797 pieces of eight" out of Driver's chest. Capt. Driver was then returned to his vessel, a prize crew was put on board, and the course was laid for Spanishtown* where they arrived five days later. Here the privateersmen discharged and sold as much of the fish, mackerel, wine, oil and raisins as they pleased and after remaining for about a week, the lieutenant of the privateer took the schooner to Antigua which was his home port. For three days Driver was confined on board his vessel and when he finally was allowed to land he was soon convinced that he could obtain no redress from the owners of the privateer. He accordingly left the schooner and what remained of her cargo at Antigua and took the first vessel for Salem. Mr. Derby then registered a protest and claim for £1334. 13. 4 for ship and cargo. But the "Three Brothers" had been bound on a voyage to a French colony in direct violation of the Acts and it is therefore extremely doubtful whether his claim was allowed by the admiralty courts. No record remains to show that he ever received any compensation, and unless the vessel was insured the whole must have been a total loss.

*Probably Virgin Gorda or Spanishtown, one of the Virgin Islands. The only Spanishtown in the West Indies on modern maps is about ten miles inland from Kingston, Jamaica.

A few years later, in 1762, Captain Driver was again captured, this time by a Frenchman, for the French and English wars were then going on and New England vessels were liable to seizure by the French. Returning home to Salem from the West Indies in the sloop "Sally," he was captured by the French privateer "La Tigre," Capt. Fabre. The Frenchman was lenient and after taking the first mate, William Adams, as security for the desired amount of ransom, the "Sally" was allowed to proceed to Salem. Mr. Derby thereupon fitted out his schooner "Mary," as a cartel to sail under a flag of truce to Cape St. François* to pay the ransom. He was joined in this venture by Messrs. Furlong and Titcomb of Newburyport who also had a man held by the French as hostage for a captured vessel. The "Mary" sailed on June 2d, 1762, with Capt. Driver in command, with a crew of three men and all the necessary specie and papers for the ransom. When nearly at her destination and passing down by the Bahamas, the "Mary" fell in with the English privateer "Revenge," Capt. Daniels, which captured her, took all her specie and two of the crew, and sent her into Nassau, on the ground that she was bound to Cape François, which was a French colonial port. Capt. Driver entered a protest stating that from the nature of the voyage, being bound as a cartel and in ballast, he was not violating the Acts, and after about two months of delay, on August 12th, by an order of the Court of Admiralty at Nassau, his rights were recognized and he received a restoration of everything.† Two days later he sailed for Cape François where he arrived on August 27th. The ransom was paid, the two hostages taken on board, and Captain Driver started to return to Salem. However, his troubles were not yet over. As he was about to leave the harbor the commanding officer of the port came aboard the "Mary," took off

*Cape St. Francois was the capital of Hayti, the western portion of Hispaniola, and at that time French territory. The city was sacked and destroyed in 1793 during the revolutionary war in Hayti.

†In the meantime Mr. Derby had been active at home in trying to gain the "Mary's" release and on Sept. 21, 1762, the Mass. General Court instructed its agent "to use his Endeavours that said Vessel, and the Monies sent in her be restored to the owners, and to take effectual care that all Proceedings of this kind be prevented for the future." But by that time the "Mary" had been set free.

the unfortunate hostages, and placed them on board of a French frigate just sailing for Santiago de Cuba, and putting a prize crew on the "Mary," compelled Captain Driver to sail to Santiago with the frigate. Here the "Mary" was detained for over three months and when on December 3d the hostages were at last set free and the "Mary" was allowed to depart, her provisions were nearly gone. Moreover during her long stay in port the teredos, or ship worms, had so eaten into her bottom that she was very leaky. Captain Driver accordingly crossed over to Port Royal, Jamaica, where he careened his vessel and repaired her bottom and having taken on board provisions, sailed for Salem where he at last arrived in safety. The losses incurred by Mr. Derby and Messrs. Furlong and Titcomb, by this ill-fated voyage amounted to about £300 more than they had sent out as ransom, or a total loss of £800 between them.

Perhaps the most exasperating capture that Mr. Derby suffered was during the French War of 1756-1763. With the proceeds of several successful cargoes to Spain he purchased at Gibraltar a French prize ship of three hundred tons which had been condemned to be sold by the British Admiralty Court. He gave her the name of "Ranger" and sent Capt. George Crowninshield out to take command of her with instructions to load with wine for the West Indies. Crowninshield fulfilled these orders and on arrival in the West Indies exchanged his wine for sugar and sailed for Leghorn in Italy. But hardly had the "Ranger" cleared the islands when she was captured by four English privateers and carried into Nassau, where she was condemned by the Court of Admiralty. She was condemned in the first place because she had no register, which, having been a foreign prize, she could not obtain until her arrival in an American port; and secondly, upon the pretence that she was bound from a French island to Salem, when, as a matter of fact, she was bound on a lawful voyage to Leghorn. The capture greatly aroused Mr. Derby, as had the vessel reached Leghorn she could have been sold with her cargo for fully \$70,000. On the advice of the leading Massachusetts lawyers, he sent his son

John to Nassau, in a small vessel, with specie and a letter of credit, but he found he could do nothing. Mr. Derby accordingly wrote to his counsel in London to try and obtain redress from the home government. In this letter he writes that in three years fully two hundred colonial vessels had been taken into Nassau, that all had been condemned except those that were able to pay the court more than the captors, and that Admiralty Judge Bradford, and Governor Shirley, who had gone to the Bahamas in poverty, left for home with fortunes of £30,000. He adds that these captures had "set the country on fire" and would soon be taken up by the Province, and therefore advises that no pains be spared to reverse the decree of the court. For a number of years Mr. Derby continued his appeal. He sent another vessel to Nassau to serve an inhibition on the courts, but he never obtained his cause, and it is safe to say that, except for a moderate insurance, this voyage, which might have doubled his fortune, was a total loss.

These cases clearly show the risks under which the New England merchants carried on their trade, for Mr. Derby's losses were not exceptional cases and many merchants suffered far more than he. In fact, during the sixteen months between July 1, 1760, and Nov. 1, 1761, no less than twenty-three Salem vessels trading to the West Indies were captured by the French.* In view of this state of affairs, Mr. Derby and all the leading Salem merchants petitioned the Massachusetts General Court, in the autumn of 1761, that they be allowed to have the Province ship-of-war, "King George," at the expense of the Province, to convoy in a fleet such Massachusetts vessels as were about to sail for the West Indies, to stay there with them during the winter, and to convoy them home in the spring. They based their petition on the ground that the Massachusetts merchants largely supported the ship-of-war by the tonnage taxes on their vessels and that all the people in the Province were interested in the safety of vessels in the West India trade. It is evident, however, that their petition was not granted, and that their vessels continued

*Mass. Archives, Vol. 66, page 157.

to sail the seas unprotected. As a matter of fact, New England vessels ran as much risk of seizure by English ships as by the French. The Act of 1695, prohibiting colonial vessels from trading to other than English or English colonial ports, was still on the statutes, but the English naval and customs authorities rarely were able to enforce it, and in the trade between New England and the Spanish Peninsular and Western Islands, the Act was practically inoperative. The West Indies, however, swarmed with English privateers, mostly owned in the British West India islands, which lay in wait to capture the vessels of their fellow colonists of New England under the slightest pretext that they were bound to a foreign island in violation of the Acts, or were guilty of treason for trading with the French who were the natural enemies of England. Within three years, as has been stated above, fully two hundred Colonial vessels had fallen into the hands of these English privateers.

In view of all these dangers to American shipping, it is interesting to observe what were the rates of marine insurance in those days and fortunately there have been preserved a few old insurance bills of Mr. Derby's in account with John Higginson, agent, for the period of the French wars. Insurance on the ship "Lydia" to Madeira in 1760, is quoted at 11 per cent. The following year, on the same vessel from Salem to Jamaica, it is 14 per cent., and 10 per cent. for the return voyage. The higher rate on the Jamaica voyage than on the one to Madeira was probably due to the greater likelihood that the ship might fall in with a French armed vessel while sailing through the West Indies than on the broad Atlantic. It is noticeable also that the homeward rate from Jamaica, 10 per cent., is lower than the outward, 14 per cent, due probably to the fact that on the return voyage when once a vessel could get away from the islands unnoticed, she was practically safe, while on the outward voyage as she approached the West Indies there was no telling when she might be captured. The highest rate of insurance recorded during this period is twenty-three per cent. on the schooner "Three Sisters,"

bound from Salem to Monte Christo,* Santo Domingo, while 15 per cent. is quoted for the return voyage. These extraordinarily high rates were due, of course, to the fact that Monte Christo being a Spanish port, the vessel was subject to capture by the English for violation of the Acts, as well as by the French, and the homeward rate was much lower than the outward rate for the reasons stated. The lowest rate of insurance found recorded among the Derby papers was 8 per cent., which was on the schooner "Friendship," bound from Salem to Quebec, in 1760. Although at the present time even this would be considered a very high rate, yet it was probably the average rate in those days for a coastwise voyage where the chances of capture were small and the dangers of the deep were the only risks.†

Mr. Derby usually insured his vessels only in part, and in several letters he asks to have insurance made on £3,000, when the vessel and cargo are worth £8,000, but as he either owned or was part owner in a great many vessels, his risk was well distributed. He generally divided his insurance among underwriters not only in Salem, Boston, New York and Philadelphia, but also placed a large amount of it with his agents in London, Messrs. Lane and Frazer.

With such tremendously high rates of insurance, the profits of these voyages must have been proportionally large. But it is difficult to learn how great they were for though we have plenty of accounts of the sales of cargoes in foreign ports, there are none to tell us how much they originally cost. Mr. Derby would buy a cer-

* Monte Christo is a small town, with an open roadstead on the north coast of Santo Domingo, and only a few miles from the boundary of Hayti. During the French wars it was treason for American vessels to trade with the French in Hayti, but the Yankee merchants eluded this by loading and unloading their vessels at Monte Christo, which was Spanish territory, and carrying the goods across into Hayti in lighters. The place was known as "the Mont," and in 1760 Admiral Holmes reports seeing 91 Yankee vessels lying in the roads at one time.

†A comparison of marine insurance risks in 1760 and at the present time gives the following results:

	1760-1.	1906-7.
Salem to Madeira	11 per ct.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ per ct.
Salem to Quebec.....	8 "	$5\frac{1}{2}$ "
Salem to Jamaica.....	14 "	$1\frac{1}{2}$ "
Salem to Monte Christo (war risk).....	23 "	$1\frac{1}{2}$ " (peace rate)
Monte Christo to Salem, do.	15 "	$1\frac{1}{2}$ " (peace rate)
Jamaica to Salem	10 "	$1\frac{1}{2}$ "

tain amount of lumber here and a certain amount of rum there, some horses in another place, and grain from somewhere else, and fish from elsewhere, and then store them on his wharf. When one of his vessels was ready to start on a voyage he would load her with various commodities, in such amounts and proportions as he thought might suit the market to which she was bound. He then wrote out the captain's orders, which usually began as follows :

" You being the appointed master of the Brig — now being laden and ready to sail, I advise and order you to embrace the first fair time of wind and weather & come to sail & make the best of your way to —, and on your arrival there," etc. Then followed directions of how to dispose of the cargo, and in what commodities to invest the proceeds for the return voyage, but the whole transaction was generally left largely to the captain's judgment.

The captains often sailed on primeage, that is, they received a certain monthly wage, and then were entitled to a percentage of the profits of the cargo. Sometimes they were entitled to a certain space in the hold of the vessel, which they could load with whatever they desired. This they could dispose of to the best advantage and invest the proceeds in goods on their own account. This was called an "adventure" or "privilege" and it would be stated that he was allowed so many tons or hundred weight of adventure or privilege, in addition to his wages. After the Revolution, when the Derbys sent out ships to the East Indies, private persons would often send out adventures. That is, they would charter space in the vessel's hold and send out anything they wished, which the captain sold for them and then invested the proceeds in some foreign article on their account. This practice, however, was not very extensively followed in the West Indies, Peninsular, or Western Islands voyages.

The crews of vessels on these voyages often were entitled to adventures and privileges, but this was not usually allowed until the East India voyages following the Revolution. In this connection a glance at the rate of wages

for seamen in those days may prove of interest and fortunately preserved among the Derby papers are a great many wages accounts or portledge bills,* as they were called. One of the earliest of these bills is for the Brigantine Neptune while on a voyage to Gibraltar and back in 1759. The master received £3 per month, the mate, £2. 3. 14, the able seamen £2. 8. 0, the common seamen £1. 17. 0, the cook, £1. 6. 8, and the cabin boy £1. 4. 0. From 1760 to 1783, masters sailing without primeage, adventure, or privilege, received wages varying from \$17.50 to \$14.50 per month; mates, from \$16.00 to \$11.00; able seamen, from \$13.00 to \$10.00; and common seamen \$10.00 to \$9.00. Cooks received from \$10.00 to \$6.50, and cabin boys usually were paid \$6.00. Both captain and crew were shipped for the round voyage and received one months' wages before sailing and the balance on the return home.†

In spite of his numerous losses Mr. Derby soon began to amass a comfortable fortune. In 1764, however, Parliament passed an Act which severely curtailed the profits of his trade. This Act levied duties on many of the stand-

*A Portledge Bill of Mens Names Shipt on Board the Schooner Mary as a Flag of Truce, Bound to Cape Francois & Back to Salem Again, together with their Station Advance Wages & at what per Month the Wages that may become due to be Paid at Return of said Schooner.

Mens Names	Their Station	at what per Mo.	Advance Wages	When Shipt
Michael Driver	Master	£6.13.4	6.13.4	31 May 1762
Stephen Archer	Mariner	£2.13.4	2.13.4	"
Daniel Adams	"	"	"	"
John Morong	"	"	"	"

Salem, June 2d, 1762

The above is A True Copy of My Portledge Bill Left
with my Employer

Michael Driver.

*In the following tables, master's wages have been omitted as at present they usually sail on primeage and in the old portledge bills they did not. The wages for 1760-1783 have been taken from the portledge bills of Mr. Derby's vessels, those for 1896-1906 from the United States Commissioner of Navigation's report for 1906 giving the present rates for sailing vessels of under 500 tons. The old rates have been computed from pounds and shillings into dollars for convenience of comparison.

From New England ports to the West Indies.

	1760-1783	1896-1906
1st Mates	\$16 to \$11	\$35 to \$40
2d Mates	\$12.50 to \$11	\$30 to \$35
Able seamen	\$11.50 to \$10	\$25 to \$20

From New England to Spain & the Western Islands.

	1760-1783	1896-1906
1st Mates	\$13 to \$11.50	\$40
Able seamen	\$11.50	\$22 to \$20.



THE DERBY HOUSE DERBY STREET SALEM,

Erected in 1762 by Richard Derby for his son Elias Hasket Derby.
The oldest brick house now standing in Salem.

ard commodities imported into the colonies from Europe and the West Indies and was virtually an enforcement of the inoperative Sugar Act of 1733 with additional provisions. We have no record that any of Mr. Derby's vessels were seized for smuggling and violating the Act, but it caused him much inconvenience as well as everyone else in the colonies. In 1768 he writes, "The late Act of Parliament has put it out of the people's power to pay money for the necessities of life, because the duties, arising by the late act, have almost deprived us of our gold currency already; for all the money that is paid for duties is sent home and will finally put a stop, if not entirely ruin the trade of the country and the people in it."*

His ship "Patty," Captain Driver, sailed from Salem about this time and he writes that unless the duties, which the Acts also required to be paid before exportation, were not taken off, it would be his "last cargo from this way." He sends word to Mess. Chambers, Hiccox, & Denyer at Madeira, not to load the ship with wine for the return voyage, but to obtain good bills of exchange on London or Lisbon, and if they must load her with wine they must do so at a cost one-fourth less than last year or it would not pay the cost of the duties.

Mr. Derby's business principally was carried on between Salem and the West Indies, but he had two vessels, the ship "Antelope" and the brig "Neptune," regularly in the trade with the Spanish Peninsular and the Western Islands, where they exchanged fish and lumber for wine, salt, etc. Occasionally he sent a vessel on what was called the triangular voyage of which we have an example in the ship "Antelope" in 1771. She carried a cargo of fish, lumber, and rum from Salem to Cadiz, disposed of it there, crossed to Tangier and loaded a cargo of mules for the West Indies and then returned from the West Indies to Salem with sugar, molasses, etc. He also employed a number of small vessels in the trade to Georgia and the Carolinas.

By 1770, Mr. Derby appears to have been recognized as one of the leading citizens of Salem and from 1769 to

*Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. VIII, p. 159.

1773 he represented his town in the Massachusetts General Court and in 1774 in the Governor's Council. Not far from his wharf he had built a substantial brick house surrounded by pleasant gardens where he lived with his wife and family of three daughters and three sons. His eldest son Richard and his youngest, John, in early age had been trained to the sailor's life, and at twenty-four, Richard was master of his father's brig "Neptune" while John was master of a vessel bound to the West Indies, when only twenty-three.* His second son, Elias Hasket, however, never went to sea, but when a young man entered his father's counting room and soon began to master the ways of the business. He gradually assumed the entire control and management of the trade and the vessels, so that about 1772 or 1773 old Mr. Derby appears to have retired from active business and, relinquishing his affairs to Elias Hasket, prepared to enjoy his old age in comfort.

About this time affairs with the mother country had begun to assume a serious aspect. The Stamp, Townshend, and other Acts had incensed the colonists to such actions as brought about the Boston Massacre and the Boston Tea Party. In 1774 the first Continental Congress met and resolved upon retaliatory measures to meet those of England. On October 20, 1774, the American Association was established and it was resolved not to import into the Continental Colonies after December 1st of that year, anything from Great Britain. It also prohibited the importation from the British West Indies of molasses, syrups,

*Letter from John Derby to his father after starting on his first voyage as Master.

In Sight of the Rolserfer
28 March—1763

Hond. Sir. I am about to wright a Letter that is not agreeable to me. Nither will it be to you I beleave. I met with the misfortune of loosing all my anker on the Banck & was ablidged to put back to Providence to refit & sailed from there 2 days ago & this day met Capt. Boudetch from the Havana who tells me of the bad marckets there is there. & now Sir I am undertcking a thing grait consequence but Sir I hope it will turne out for the best but Sir if it does not I hope it will be overloocket by you. That is I am about to put away for Charlestown in South Carolina. I whould have proseeded as far as Havana as it was but being afraid of lenthening time & of our wines growing bad thought it best to mack the best of our way for Charlestown which is all the marckets we have to trust too now. I shall endever to macking payable on my arivall at Charlestown. If I chould think of any whare else that was likly for a better market I whould proseed let it be whare it whould. Excuses haist as night is coming on. Capt. Boudetch can enform you of aney particulars relaiting to my affairs. My duty to you and my mother.

Your dutiful son
John Derby.





ELIAS HASKET DERBY.

1739-1799.

From the painting by James Frothingham, now in the
Peabody Museum, Salem.

paneles, coffee, pimento and indigo, and resolved that committees should be chosen in every county, city, and town to oversee the carrying out of this non-intercourse with England and her West India colonies. The persons most severely affected by this act were of course the merchants, for this was another restriction to their trade in addition to the English Navigation Acts, and one which was more likely to be enforced than the English Acts had been. As time went on many of the leading merchants and wealthy people in the Provinces began to find the difficulties of trade in America too great for them, especially those who expressed any partiality for the royalist cause, and most of them, preferring to remain loyal to the home government, began to leave for England. At the same time many of the wealthy American merchants were ardent supporters of the Provincial cause and by lending and giving freely of their resources to the Continental Congress were largely instrumental in bringing about the successful outcome of the Revolution. Of this latter class, none were more prominent than the Derbys, who lent both guns and ships to the Continental government, fitted out privateers, and in many ways took an active part in the Provincial cause. In 1774 and 1775, young Richard was a member of the Provincial Congress and old Mr. Derby, his father, one of the Massachusetts council.

It is not unnatural therefore that we find the Derby name connected with one of the first actions that led to the Revolution. In February, 1775, General Gage sent to Salem a regiment of British soldiers under Colonel Leslie, to capture some cannon. The soldiers were met at the North River bridge in Salem, by a large body of citizens and we are told that when the demand was made to deliver up the cannon, old Mr. Derby came forward and boldly replied, "Find them, if you can! take them, if you can! they will never be surrendered!" This answer appeared to voice the attitude of the constantly increasing crowd and the troops prudently withdrew. Less than two months later the Battle of Lexington plunged the Provinces into what Joseph Warren termed "the horrors of a most unnatural war." At the time few people in

America had any idea of seceding from England and setting up a new nation, but the general feeling was that this affair at Lexington was the result of the constant and oppressive measures of the British ministry. The Americans claimed that the engagement had been started by the English and that, far from being the aggressors, the provincials simply had defended themselves and their property and were entirely within the law. Accordingly the Provincial Congress resolved to send a fast vessel to England with a document, addressed to the Inhabitants of Great Britain, giving the American version of the affair, and Richard Derby, senior, offered to the Congress his little schooner "Quero" for this purpose. With his son Capt. John in command, the "Quero" sailed from Salem four days after the vessel bearing General Gage's official despatches. On May 28th, Captain Derby appeared in London and found that General Gage's despatches had not yet arrived. The effect of his news threw the nation into consternation. Stocks fell and general uneasiness prevailed. When, however, Captain Derby was summoned two days later to give a verbal account of the affair to the Secretary of State, he was nowhere to be found. He had gone as suddenly as he had come and was on his way home with the first news of the effect of the battle in London before England had got over the first excitement caused by his information.* Captain Derby's accounts of expenditures on this voyage are still preserved in the State House at Boston and include his account for personal time and service which he modestly puts down as "0."

Following the Battle of Lexington the Provinces found themselves at war with the mother country, but the conditions of trade seem not to have been particularly affected. On May 9th, 1775, Richard Derby, senior, writes to the captain of his schooner "Patty," then in the West Indies: "There hath not been as yet any stopping of ye trade, so I would have you get a load of molasses as good and cheap and as quick as you can and proceed home. If ye have not sold, and ye markets are bad where

*A full account of this famous trip of the "Quero" is given in the Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. 36, pp. 1-30.

you are, you have liberty to proceed any other ways, either to ye Mole, Jamaica, or to make a fresh bottom, or anything else that you may think likely to help ye voyage, but always to keep your money in your own hands."

But the Derbys were not destined to continue their prosperous commerce during such troublous times without interruption, and during the winter of 1775-6 they began to suffer a number of serious losses. The first of these was the capture of their schooner "Jamaica Packet," Capt. Ingersoll. While on a passage to Salem from the north side of Jamaica she was taken by a British cruiser and carried into Boston. Elias Hasket Derby thus describes the affair: "The captain who took him [i. e. Capt. Ingersoll] deprived him of all his papers, and kept them until the trial came on, when the bill of stores was missing from the papers. The court condemned one cask of rum and one cask of sugar for want of the bill of stores, but acquitted the vessel and cargo. Capt. Ingersoll could not get leave to sell the cargo. He applied, from time to time, to have the interest delivered, and could not succeed; but after a time, and when the enemy were near leaving Boston, he obtained leave to sell so much of his cargo as would be sufficient to repair his vessel, with a view to leave Boston with the fleet, which he was desirous of doing, hoping thus to save the interest. When the fleet and army were leaving Boston, they came and took most of the rum on board the transports; the soldiers and sailors, and others, came in the time of confusion and cut his sails from the yards, and made them into bags; they cut the hoops from the hogsheads of sugar, and took most of it away. Not being satisfied with that, the day they quitted the town they came and cut the fasts from the wharf, when the schooner drove down river and went ashore on one of the islands, and was there burned by the British, by which I lost better than £3000 sterling."

This capture was quite a blow to Mr. Derby and made him very nervous lest he should lose more of his property, for he had three vessels in the West Indies ready to sail for home. They were at Hispaniola, in charge of Capt. Nathaniel Silsbee, one of his most trusted shipmasters.

During February, 1776, Mr. Derby sent Capt. Allen Hallet to St. Nicholas Mole, Hayti, in the schooner "Nancy," with a credit for £500 to £1000 to be laid out to the best advantage. A long letter was also sent to Capt. Silsbee in regard to the management of the vessels in his charge. This letter fortunately has been preserved and not only shows the anxiety felt by Mr. Derby for the safety of his property but gives an insight into the methods of carrying on commerce during the Revolution. Mr. Derby writes: "If this letter should meet you at the Mole, you may ship me, by any vessels bound to Cape Ann, Newbury, Ipswich, or near to it, some cotton, cocoa, sugar, molasses, duck, cordage, powder, or any other article you think may answer, as I make no doubt that any goods will make 100 per cent. But do not send any indigo, as that is contrary to the association, but any foreign goods you have a right to bring.

"Worsted stockings & Middleing Linen for shirting is at Present much wanted, as is Pins, Silk & Cotton Handks. & writing Paper, all which articles is worth at least 150 per cent. more than common, and £150 Sterling well layd out in such articles will leave more Proffitt than any Westindia goods, but they must not come (in a vessel) with an English Clearance, & neither must any of them be taken from Jamaica, as it would be in direct Violation of the Association, which I do not mean to brake." He then adds the prices then prevailing in New England of some of the leading commodities.

"Good sugar, £25—none here, will be soon £30.
Common Rum, 35/
Cocoa, £45
Cotton, 28/ to 30/
Molasses, 20/, none at market
Cordage, £25 to 27 per 112 & will be £30."

Of Capt. Hallet he writes: "I shall depend on your advising him in all matters. He has no Clearance & therefore suppose it not safe to go to Jamaica for a Clearance, but you will judge of that. He has two Registers & if you think it safe & Best he may go down to Jamaica as from the Mole in Ballast belonging to Dominica, but I fleet come on this coast in the spring as is talked of, I

suppose he may be as safe with a Cargo of Molasses, Sugar, Cocoa, & Cotton from the Mole without any Clearance at all, Provided it is consigned to some Merchant in Nova Scotia & the French Clearance to agree with that. The reason of my wanting his Papers so, is I think if he is taken there, he must be safe if he is leased to that government. I have ordered Hallett to throw all the Papers over in case he gets taken, but I do not think of loosing her as the Schooner sails very fast. If not taken & if he meets an Easterly Wind, as it will be the right season of the year for it, he will stand a good chance to get into some of our Harbours on the North Shore, & I am well assured if he does well & has a good Cargo of Goods, he will make not less than 100 per cent. after Paying the Insurance and charge which at present is high. I have insured the Schooner out & while she lay at the Mole against all Risques at ten per ct. but if she goes to Jamaica it is to be 5 per ct. more, so that the Insurance down will be not less than 100 Dollars. At present I have not made Insurance home as I suppose I cannot at this time get it done under 25 per ct. & shall not make any at present for by the last acct. from England it seems they are tired of this unnatural War, but of that you can form a much better judgement than we can here, as it is seldom we have accounts that are to be depended on.

"There are many difficulties in carrying on business at this time, and I should be sorry to hear of your going to Halifax, or of doing any thing, however small, contrary to the Association of the Continent; and you may depend upon it, that if the present dispute should continue the next summer, that there will be no less than 100 sail of privateers out from the continent, and I suppose the interest of mine, as Jamaica or Halifax property, must share the fate of other things, if taken. But may the Almighty Disposer of all things order the councils of the wicked administration to come to naught."

Mr. Derby concludes by saying: "The times at present are such I cannot determine what will be for the best, and must therefore leave it wholly to you, not doubting the business will be conducted with care. Should so large a

should think it not best to ship so much to the Northward or otherwise ; but it is now said that commissioners are appointed to come over to accommodate affairs, but I doubt it. I commit you to the Almighty's protection, not doubting that we shall once more carry on business at Salem in peace and safety.

From your friend

Elias Hasket Derby."

Capt. Hallet sailed from Salem during the latter part of February and, arriving at St. Nicholas Mole, found Capt. Silsbee there and delivered to him Mr. Derby's letter. Silsbee disposed of Captain Hallet's cargo, quickly procured a return one for him, and about March 20th the "Nancy" started for home. In the latter part of April she arrived safely at Falmouth (now Portland), Maine, where the cargo was sold to great advantage. Capt. Silsbee sent word to Mr. Derby by Capt. Hallet that he would "visit Jamaica to learn the latest news," and govern himself accordingly, and that he would not ship the principal part of the property until he could do so with safety. But it was impossible to carry on commerce at that time in safety, and though Captain Silsbee used his best judgment, the vigilance of the British cruisers was too great. During the spring, when he sent Mr. Derby's three vessels north, two of them fell into the hands of the enemy. This disaster decided Mr. Derby. Up to that time he had indulged in peaceful commerce alone ; henceforth, if he wished to retain his position on the seas, he must meet the enemy with force.

In June, 1776, he fitted out his schooner "Sturdy Beggar," of 90 tons, as an armed vessel, with six carriage guns and a crew of twenty-five men. On June 13th the Massachusetts Council gave Peter Lander his commission to command the vessel and "to make Reprisals on the Enemys of the united Colonys of North America agreeable to the Laws and Regulations of this Country."* A few days later the "Sturdy Beggar" sailed from Salem on her first cruise, being one of the first privateers commissioned in Massachusetts during the Revolution. Of this cruise no record now remains, but in September he

fitted out, in company with Miles Greenwood of Salem, his West India trader "Revenge," armed with twelve guns, which made a very successful cruise, taking "four Jamaicamen, laden with 733 hogsheads of sugar, besides other cargo."

One might suppose that this success would have encouraged Mr. Derby to engage more extensively in privateering, but he does not appear to have fitted out another armed vessel till the following year. By the autumn of 1777 all hopes of a peaceful settlement between England and the Provinces had disappeared and Mr. Derby became one of the most active men in New England in fitting out privateers. Of the 158 armed vessels fitted out from the port of Salem during the Revolution, he appears as owner or part owner of twenty-five, and it is safe to say that he had shares in and helped fit out twice as many more.* At the same time he continued to send some of

*Armed vessels fitted out by Elias Hasket Derby during the Revolution, with dates when commissioned (Mass. Archives).

1776	June 13	Sch. Sturdy Beggar,*	privateer,	owner
1776	Sept. 4	Sloop Revenge,	"	part owner
1777	Oct. 8	Sloop Rover,	"	"
1777	Dec. 19	Schooner Congress,	letter of marque	"
1777	Dec. 22	Sch. Centipede,	privateer,	"
1778	Jan. 21	Sloop Patty	"	"
1778	Feb. 25	Sch. Scorpion,	"	owner
1778	Apr. 10	Sch. Lexington,	"	part owner
1778	Apr. 18	Brigt. Franklin,	"	"
1778	May 22	Sch. Centipede,	"	"
1778	July 20	Sch. Congress,	"	"
1778	July 23	Sch. Scorpion,	"	"
1778	Oct. 16	Brigt. Franklin,	"	"
1779	Mar. 29	Ship Oliver Cromwell,*	"	"
1779	Mar. 30	Brigt. Franklin,	"	"
1779	Apr. 15	Ship Hunter,	"	"
1779	Apr. 15	Brigt. Fame,	"	"
1779	Aug. 3	Brigt. Roebuck,	"	"
1779	Aug. 3	Sch. Centipede,	"	"
1779	Oct. 28	Ship Three Sisters,	letter of marque,	"
1779	Nov. 25	Ship Salem Packet	"	owner
1779	Nov. 25	Sloop Nancy	"	"
1780	Mar. 22	Brigt. Hasket & John	"	"
1780	Apr. 18	Brigt. Lexington,	"	"
1780	Apr. 18	Brigt. Fame	"	"
1780	Aug. 5	Brigt. Hasket & John,*	"	"
1780	Sept. 25	Sloop Morning Star,	privateer	part owner
1781	June 13	Ship Grand Turk,	"	"
1781	Sept. 4	Brigt. Young Richard,	letter of marque	
1781	Sept. 29	Ship Grand Turk	privateer	
1781	Sept. 29	Ship Patty	letter of marque	
1781	Nov. 29	Ship Salem Packet,	"	
1781	Nov. 29	Brigt. Lexington,	"	
1782	Feb. 12	Ship Exchange,*	"	
1782	Feb. 2	Sch. Fly,	privateer	
1782	May 9	Brigt. Lexington,	"	
1782	June 29	Ship Patty,	letter of marque	
1782	June 29	Ship Salem Packet,*	"	"
1782	Dec. 16	Ship Astrea,	"	owner

*Captured by the enemy.

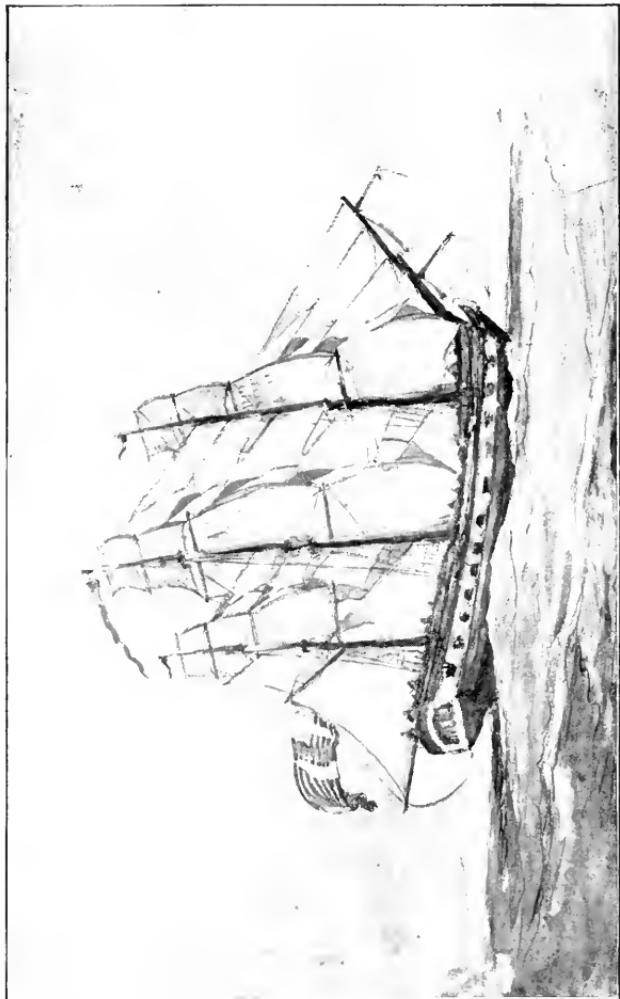
his vessels on trading voyages, for every sort of commodity was in great demand and high prices awaited the merchant who was courageous enough to engage in foreign commerce. But these vessels were always sent out well armed and equipped with a "letter of marque" which allowed them to capture any of the enemy's vessels they might fall in with while on the voyage. As a result of these many ventures, Mr. Derby found the Revolution a period of great profits. To be sure, five of his vessels were captured, but his privateers took many valuable prizes and his trading vessels sailing as "letters of marque" made a number of profitable voyages. Samuel Curwen writes of Salem in 1780:—"Those who five years ago were the meaner people, are now, by a strange revolution, become almost the only men of power, riches and influence. The Cabots of Beverly, who, you know, had but five years ago a very moderate share of property, are now said to be by far the most wealthy in New England; Hasket Derby claims the second place in the list." He adds, "E. H. Derby's province tax is £11,000, and his neighbors complain he is not half taxed."*

As the war progressed, however, Mr. Derby began to engage less in privateering and, converting most of his ships into "letters of marque," he sent them on trading voyages with fully as much chance of material profit as though he had continued in privateering. A glance at the prices of standard commodities during the war shows how much was to be gained by a successful trading voyage. In 1780, Curwen writes:—"In New England a dollar bill is worth only $2\frac{2}{3}$ of an English half penny. Pins at 1s. apiece, needles at 2s., beef 2s. 6d., veal 2s., mutton and lamb, 1s. 6d., butter 6s per lb., rum eight dollars per gallon, molasses two dollars, brown sugar 10s. per lb., loaf sugar 15s., Bohea tea seven dollars per lb., coffee five dollars, Irish pork sixty dollars per barrel, lemons 3s. apiece, wood twenty dollars a cord, ordinary French cloth twenty-two dollars a yard, hose nine dollars a pair. A suit of clothes which cost five guineas here [England], would cost five hundred dollars in Boston."

*S. Curwen's Journal and Letters, p. 234.

SHIP GRAND TURK.

From a painting by Robert S. Peabody, after the design in the punch bowl made at Canton, China, in 1786, and now in the Peabody Museum, Salem.



Although, as the war went on, Mr. Derby gradually withdrew his vessels from privateering, in 1781, he had a large ship of 300 tons built at Salem expressly for a privateer. This vessel was the "Grand Turk" and was destined to be one of the most famous ships ever owned in Salem.* She was designed for speed and yet had good carrying capacity and her armament of 24 guns made her a veritable man-of-war. On June 13th, 1781, Thomas Simmons received his commission to command her and within three days after the notices were posted more than one hundred of the 120 men required had signed the articles, such was the general desire to be a member of her crew. No record has been preserved of her first cruise, but in September she sailed again under the command of Joseph Pratt, one of Mr. Derby's most trusted captains, and making her way towards the British Channel she fell in with the sugar laden ship "Mary," off the Irish coast. The vessel was homeward bound from Jamaica and was an easy prey for the "Grand Turk." A prize crew was placed on board and the two vessels started for Bilboa, but before they reached that port they fell in with the brig "John Grace" which the "Grand Turk" captured. On arrival at Bilboa the two prizes were sold and netted \$65,802. 00. Returning to Salem, the "Grand Turk" refitted and then sailed on another cruise under Captain Pratt, this time to the West Indies. On this cruise she captured several prizes including the twenty gun ship "Pompey," from London. These vessels were all carried into the French West India Islands and sold, the proceeds being remitted to Salem.

In the meantime Mr. Derby had another ship constructed which was even larger than the "Grand Turk," being rated at 360 tons. He named her the "Astrea" and fitted her out as a "letter of marque" under the command of his brother John Derby. During the latter part of December, 1782, she sailed for France and made the passage across the Atlantic in the fast time of eighteen days, capturing an English brigantine on the way. Shortly

*In 1785 the "Grand Turk" went to Canton, China, being, with one exception, (the "Columbia" of Oregon fame) the first American vessel to go to China or India.

after her arrival at Nantes, the preliminaries of peace between England and the United States, France, and Spain, were signed at Paris. Captain Derby therefore made all haste to discharge and reload, but he was greatly delayed by a heavy inundation of the River Loire, which flooded the principal streets of Nantes, so that when he was ready to go aboard the "Astrea" he "was taken into a boat from the staircase of his lodgings."* When the "Astrea" was ready to sail she dropped down the river to the port of Paimboeuf where she was delayed for several more days by a succession of heavy westerly gales. On March 12th, however, she finally got to sea, and twenty-two days later arrived in Salem.† The news of peace had not yet been received in the United States, and thus Capt. John Derby had the distinction of being the first to carry the news of the outbreak of hostilities to England, which he had done in the "Quero", and also the first to bring the news of the declaration of peace to America. A fortnight after Captain Derby's arrival, Washington ordered the cessation of hostilities and thus brought the war to a close.

The Derbys now disarmed their ships and prepared once more to engage in trade and commerce. Elias Hasket Derby was then the owner of four large ships between 300 and 360 tons, the "Grand Turk," the "Astrea," the "Light Horse," and the "Hasket & John," and three brigs, the "Henry," "Cato," "Three Sisters," in place of the fleet of small sloops, schooners, and brigs which he had owned before the war. He soon embarked in the trade to India and China and carried on this commerce with great activity until his death in 1799 when he left a fortune of over \$1,000,000, one of the largest ever amassed in America up to that time. He is often spoken of as the father of American trade to the East Indies and is generally considered to have been one of the greatest American merchants.

His brother Richard, junior, took an active part in the Provincial Congress during the first years of the war, and

*Salem Gazette, April 10, 1783.

†The "Astrea" is also credited with a passage of nineteen days from France to Salem; once she went from Salem to the Irish coast in eleven days, two of the fastest sailing voyages across the Atlantic on record.

might have had a prominent political career but for his premature death in 1781. The other brother, John, enjoyed a prosperous mercantile career, and was a part owner of the ship "Columbia" which went out to the north-west coast of America in 1787 and discovered the river that bears her name. He died in 1812.

Richard Derby, senior, lived to witness the Independence of his country, which was a great satisfaction to him as he was always a sound Whig and an ardent patriot, and during the Revolution both lent and gave freely to the Continental Government, his vessels, guns, money, and other property. He died in 1783.

THE
DERBYS OF SALEM
MASSACHUSETTS

A STUDY OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
COMMERCE CARRIED ON BY A
FAMILY OF TYPICAL
NEW ENGLAND MERCHANTS

By ROBERT E. PEABODY

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